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POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN ITALY

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30 June 1943

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FOREWORD

This study has been prepared for the OSS by an independent group using material from unrestricted sources only. Since a good many of the population movements which it traces have been concealed, the results are at times bound to be misleading. It was originally hoped that a thorough revision could be made incorporating confidential and secret data. The press of work of a higher priority now makes it apparent that this revision would be a long time coming. Accordingly, this study is being issued in its original form so that whatever value it has may be made available immediately.

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GENERAL NOTE ON ITALIAN STATISTICS AND DEMOGRAPHY

At the outset, it is necessary to bear in mind the narrow definition of emigration and immigration as a basis for Italian official statistics.

The Problemi e Informazioni Sociali of January-February 1942 wrote:

"Until 1938, the number of emigrants considerably surpassed the number of immigrants (65,000 as compared to 36,000). On the contrary, 1939 shows only 29,700 emigrants as compared to 57,800 immigrants. In 1940 the figures were 11,200 and 61,200 respectively. Thus we find the migratory movement actually reversed."

These figures would not include any population movement within the limits of the Italian Empire nor, for example, the repatriation of German Tyrolese from the Italian Tyrol. The latter were not listed as emigrants but as "repatriated" persons. The whole picture would be quite different if it included all persons who moved in and out of Italy (with the exception of tourists, businessmen, officials and other transients).

By the end of September 1942, the population of Italy was 45,995,000 as compared to 42,917,000 in 1936.[1] In recent years, the natural increase of the population has dropped considerably. Nevertheless, as late as 1941 there were still 315,811 more births than deaths in Italy and in the first half of 1942 a surplus of 139,390 births over deaths.[2]

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, emigration has been an important factor in alleviating the pressure of Italy's fast growing population. Before the first World War, the yearly number of emigrants surpassed 800,000. After 1918 until the introduction of the United States quota regulations, the average number of emigrants was over 300,000 yearly. It reached 200,000 annually even after the quota until the new Fascist policy retarded free emigration abroad in favor of its military and imperial aims. Thus the thirties witnessed a steady decline in emigration out of the Italian Empire. Emigration was now organized by the Fascist government. All movements of population from Italy were connected with the attempted Italian military and colonial expansion. Such was the colonization of Lybia and Abyssinia, the migration of workers and officials to Albania and to the Dodecanese Islands. None of these movements were included in Italian emigration statistics, and the same holds true for the tremendous displacements of population resulting from this war.

1, Dr. Irene B. Taeuber in the Preliminary Memorandum on Italy - Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.

2. Nya Dagligt Allehanda, 24 January 1943.

INTRODUCTION

The two main groups of emigrants who left Italy since 1940 were the "repatriated" Tyrolese and the Italian workers who went to Germany. The Tyrolese Italian nationals of German race were resettled for the most part on former Austrian territory, and to some extent on other foreign territories which since 1938 had become incorporated into the Reich. In the Spring of 1942 German sources placed the figure of "repatriated" Tyrolese at 72,000. Since that time, the total could hardly have reached 100,000.

The number of Italian workers in Germany is estimated at 350,000. This figure does not take into consideration the alleged return movement, in the last few months, of Italian workers in Germany to their homes in Italy, nor does it include Italian workers in German-occupied territories.

Three other large groups of Italians have gone abroad: the Italian army; Italian officials and other civilians in various capacities who have poured into the Italian-occupied territories; and over 350,000 Italian prisoners of war in Allied hands. The total number of Italians (not including the armed forces) who left Italy since 1940 can be estimated roughly as close to 1,000,000.

The influx of populations into Italy originated from three sources: close to 100,000 came from Yugoslavia (6,000 prisoners of war and 85,000 deportees); some tens of thousands of Italians from Africa, and an unknown number of military and civilian Germans. The total number of this mass (not including German troops) can be roughly estimated at 200,000.

The movements of the Italian population within Italy are a result of either flight or evacuation from bombed areas. The number of evacuees and refugees is estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000.

the Minister of Interior ordered the total mobilization of Jews of the 1907-1925 classes. They were to work in areas designated by the Ministry of Corporations.[1]

The latest information received by the Institute of Jewish Affairs indicates that there are still 39,000 Jews in Italy.

B. Repatriation

On 21 October 1939 an agreement was concluded between Germany and Italy and the repatriation of the Tyrolese Germans was officially begun. Under the terms of the agreement, the German-speaking inhabitants of the provinces of Bozen, Udine, Trento, and Belluno were given until midnight, December 31st, to choose German citizenship and resettlement in the Reich or to remain Italian citizens in the above-mentioned provinces.

The results of this option made public on 11 January 1940, are shown in table I:

TABLE I

	Eligible for option: 313,000	For Germany	For Italy	Undeclared
Province of Bozen	229,500	166,488	27,712	35,300
" " Trient	24,453	13,015	3,802	7,636
" " Udine	5,603	4,576	337	690
" " Belluno	7,429	1,006	6,423	-
" undetermined		280		
	266,985	185,365	38,274	43,626

Those who had opted for German citizenship had to be in Germany by 31 December 1942. It was understood that those who had not signed any declaration, as well as those who had opted for Italian citizenship were to remain citizens of Italy.

As a matter of fact, the repatriation of the Tyrolese started some time before the actual agreement of 21 October 1939. The first steps in this repatriation were made not by the Reich but by the Italian government. The Italianization

1. Radio Rome, 19 June 1943. According to a Bern dispatch to The New York Times of 2 August 1943 the Badoglio Government has ordered the release from concentration camps of 12,000 Jews. This order may include the Italian Jews employed at compulsory labor and Jewish refugees in Italy.

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POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN ITALY

I. MOVEMENT OF POPULATIONS LEAVING ITALY

A. Emigration according to Italian Statistics

1. Some 11,200 emigrants left Italy during the year of Italy's entry into the war. It may be assumed that the majority left before war was declared. Thus the number of immigrants from Italy to the United States for the period of July 1940 to July 1941 was only 450 as compared to 5,302 for the year 1939-1940.[1]

2. Among the 11,200 were a small number of Jews who continued to leave even after Italy's participation. The total number of Jews who left Italy up until 1940 is estimated at 6,000.[2] This figure however includes numerous Jewish refugees from Greater Germany. The excedent of Jewish emigrants from Italy over Jewish immigrants to Italy, if it existed at all, was very small.

In 1938 the Jewish population of Italy was 51,950 of whom 7,773 were foreign Jews (6,000 being refugees from Germany).[3] An estimate of 15 October 1941 placed the number of Jews in Italy at 43,118 of whom 3,674 were foreign nationals. To date, 5,960 Jews of Italian nationality have left the country.[4]

Thousands of foreign Jews were enabled to remain in Italy because of a provision in the law of the Defense of the Italian Race (issued on 17 November 1938) which exempts certain categories of Jews from expulsion upon application.[5]

On 6 May 1942 compulsory labor was introduced. All Jews from the ages of 18 to 55 were subject to this "civilian mobilization". Within three weeks after the publication of the order, 5,000 Jews were mobilized at compulsory labor on railroads in Brescia and Perugia, road construction in central Italy, and waterways in the provinces of Rome, Rovigo and Verona. A few weeks later 5,000 more Jews were doing agricultural work in the vicinity of Rome.[6] Finally, in June 1943,

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1. Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1941 p. 252.
2. The Jewish Refugees by Arieh Tartakower, reprinted from Jewish Social Studies, Volume IV, No. 4.
3. Lunatio Israelitico 1937 - 1938 as quoted by Sottochiesa Sotto la Maschera d'Israele.
4. Frankfurter Zeitung 2 November 1941.
5. According to information received from the Institute of of Jewish Affairs
6. According to information received from the Institute of Jewish Affairs.

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policy had brought an influx of Italian officials into the Southern Tyrol. As far back as 1935, the Tyrolese valleys saw an immigration of Italian laborers who came to work in the newly developed armament industry.[1] The proximity of the sources of raw materials, the Austrian mines, "white coal" power, and the strategic advantages of armament factories in a location less vulnerable to the enemy, all played a part in the creation of this industry in the Southern Tyrol. As the Tyrolese Germans were not sufficiently trusted to be employed in the fast growing industry they proved a fly in the ointment.

The first Tyrolese repatriated before the formal agreement were the most intransigent. To force them to emigrate, they were individually threatened with deportation to other parts of Italy.[2] This fear of eviction, later greatly influenced the decisions of the Tyrolese faced with opting for their old homes or new ones in Germany. As a matter of fact, such threats were not carried out and those who opted for Italy were permitted to remain in their homes.

A vast majority of the Germans in the Tyrol voted to relinquish their Italian citizenship and to migrate to Germany. Soon after the votes were cast, partly as a result of nationalist zeal and partly through fear of deportation, there occurred a great rush to Germany. In 1940, 65,000 Tyrolese moved to the Reich.[3] In 1941, there were not more than 7,000[4] who migrated and in 1942 an equally small number. On 31 January 1943 Radio Rome reported that Mussolini had received Agostino Podesta, who had completed his task of carrying out the Italo-German agreements concerning the Alto Adige (the Italian name for the South Tyrol). This would indicate that in 1942 the remaining 113,000 of the total who had opted for Germany had actually emigrated. However, German sources contradict such an assumption. The report of the German Resettlement Trust (Deutsche Umsiedlungs Treuhandgesellschaft, DUT) for 1942, as quoted by German newspapers[4] emphasized that "the operation of resettling South Tyrolese was now as ever difficult and troublesome, the Trust having, however, far advanced here too." But no figures on Tyrolese who moved during this period were mentioned. The figures stated refer only to those registered for repatriation ("Protected") and those who had already been installed in homes and jobs in Germany. A too high number of people covered by the transfer scheme was given. Strange as it may seem, the figure of protected (betreute) Tyrolese as given by the DUT is continuously rising. By the end of 1939, some 185,000 Tyrolese had opted for Germany. In the DUT report

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1. Frederico Ricci, L'affaire du Tyrol du Sud, in Voix Europeennes, July-August 1939, No. 10.

2. Franz Lothar's Beneath another Sun (New York, 1943) is not only a fascinating novel, but a valuable collection of documents concerning the repatriation of the Tyrolese Germans in the period preceding the agreement of 21 October 1939.

3. Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft April 1941, No. 10.

4. Deutsche Post aus dem Osten, June 1942. The total of 72,000 which is given here may include some people who moved early in 1942.

5. Voelkischer Beobachter, 4 April 1943. Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 4 April 1943.

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for 1941, the number of Tyrolese candidates for repatriation rose to 220,000. In the latest report for 1942, it has grown to 238,000 (this number was obviously reached by the inclusion of those who had not declared themselves and were to remain Italian nationals). The same report however, in mentioning Italian families installed in the Tyrol in 1942 and the homes prepared for them, only speaks in terms of hundreds. Nor has there been any word of some hundred thousand homeless Tyrolese who supposedly should be waiting to be placed. This is very odd in view of the fact that the German press carries frequent reports on the many small groups of Germans from abroad, who having been repatriated to Greater Germany, are stationed in temporary camps awaiting permanent settlement.

It may be that the report of the DUT for 1942 emphasizes the high number of "protected" Tyrolese without giving figures of those actually transferred in order to veil the failure of the Tyrolese "repatriation" project. This assumption is corroborated by an order, published in the local Bozener Alpenzeitung[1], which provided for an extension of the time limit to the end of 1943, in view of wartime obstacles which made it impossible to resettle the South Tyrolese of German origin in Germany during 1942.

This course of events may be explained by the decreasing force of the factors which earlier had promoted the emigration of the Tyrolese. Those who had remained in their old domicile now realized that they would not be forcibly deported and thus gained a new feeling of security. And the attitude of the Italian government, too, seems to have changed. Press reports show that even the partial emigration of the Tyrolese was a severe blow to the local economy. The depopulation of mountain regions in general is a serious and much discussed problem in Italy. In this mountainous country, according to the latest reports, less than 1 percent of the population lives at an altitude of over 1000 meters (3300 feet). Even at lower altitudes, the mountain population is constantly decreasing. Thus it was impossible to fill the place of the repatriated Tyrolese who had been conditioned to the Alpine plateaux through centuries of domicile.

The vast majority of the Tyrolese removed in 1940-1941 were installed on the other side of the Alps, in the North Tyrol and Vorarlberg (former Austria). Another group had been settled in Carinthia (former Austria)[2]. Starting in March 1942, 2,400 Slovene peasant families were removed from Carinthia, to make room for the incoming Tyrolese, according to the Royal Yugoslav Information Center.

The DUT report for 1942 announced that the South Tyrolese would be settled "with speed and preference" in Lorraine, Luxembourg and in the eastern part of the Sudetenland. It specified that in Lorraine some 1000 homes had been "cleared" for resettlers from South Bukovina and South Tyrol. Thus this resettlement project could only have involved a very limited number of Tyrolese, particularly as they were mentioned in second place after the Bukovinians. The report stated further that the DUT had collaborated in the installment of 412 South Tyrolese artisans in the Alpine and Danube regions, partly on

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1. According to the Neue Zuercher Zeitung 26 August 1942.

2. Archiv fuer Wanderungswesen und Auslandskunde 1942 No. 1-2 p. 67.

"liberated" homesteads in Carinthia (this apparently refers to the expelled Slovene peasants). Finally, South Tyrolese fruit and wine growers were mentioned among those settled in Southern Styria (i.e. German-annexed Yugoslav territory from which the Slovene population had been deported to the Reich). Thus there are now:

1) Over 60,000 repatriated South Tyrolese in North Tyrol and the Vorarlberg

2) Some thousands in Carinthia (in the homes of expelled Slovene peasants) and

3) Small scattered Tyrolese settlements in German-annexed Slovenia (in the homes of expelled Slovenes), in Lorraine (on the farms of expelled Frenchmen), in Luxembourg (probably in the homes of deported Luxembourgers) and in the eastern part of the Sudetenland.

C. Workers in Germany and German-occupied Countries

The territory which comprises the new borders of the Reich and includes foreign areas incorporated since 1938, has long been the traditional goal both permanent and temporary for migrating Italian workers. Before World War I, this migration spread fan-like out of Northern Italy; to the mine region of Briey-Longwy (North-Eastern France on the intersection of the Belgian, Luxembourg and Lorraine frontier), into Luxembourg, Lorraine and Austria. After 1918, Austria with its disrupted economy no longer attracted the Italian worker. Otherwise the migratory stream continued to follow the old geographic direction, but because of the changed political frontiers, it flowed mainly into France.

The employment of Italian workers in Germany was not started until the eve of the war. Both in 1938 and 1939, Italy sent to Germany some 30,000 agricultural workers.[1] Since the outbreak of the war, the number of Italian workers in Germany has risen constantly. At first, mainly agricultural workers were employed. There were no recruitment difficulties before Italy entered the war. The supply of workers even exceeded the demand. However when the large Italian labor reserves were absorbed by mobilization, it became necessary to extend the area of recruitment over central and southern Italy, which had a large agricultural population. Now, despite the obstacles, the quota for agricultural workers, agreed upon by the German and Italian governments, for 1941, was somewhat larger than that for the previous year.

In 1940, 70,000 Italian industrial workers were brought to Germany. They were for the most part unskilled laborers. The task of supplying German industry with Italian labor and with skilled labor in particular, was not undertaken until early in 1941. As for agricultural workers, industrial recruiting was also based on special agreements between the two governments. Italy was responsible for the filling of the quotas by the application of force if necessary. The basic agreements, providing for the expanded employment of Italians in German industry, were concluded in Rome early in February

1. P. Waelbroeck and I. Bessling: Some Aspects of German Social Policy under the National Socialist Regime, in the International Labor Review Vol. XLIII No.2, February 1942, p. 35.

1941. Pursuant to these agreements, especially in so far as they concerned metal workers, committees were set up in Italy to reorganize production, so as to free labor for employment in Germany.[1] In February 1942, the Italian government issued a decree ordering the civil mobilization of all men in Italy between the ages of 18 and 55. According to this decree, all Italian citizens were obliged to accept any work on farms, in factories, in offices, on the railroads, or wherever they might be needed. It further provided that the mobilized workers might be employed outside of Italy, and it was assumed that one of the major goals of this mobilization was to supply labor to Germany. This assumption was borne out when Germany was promised 50,000 more men for its industry.[2] It would however be erroneous to present the entire system of labor recruiting for Germany as depending on compulsion. The emigration of workers has always played an important role in Italian economy, and doubtless a great part of the Italians who went to work in German industry were merely following the past trend.

Italy holds first place among the Axis and neutral countries supplying Germany with manpower. She began before the others and the number of her labor immigrants greatly surpasses that of the other countries. Germany has extracted more workers from Italy than from any individual German-occupied country with the exception of the USSR, Poland and France. The official German statistics on the subject made public 25 September 1941 places the total number of Italian workers in Germany at 271,000 of whom 21,700 were women.[3] In the spring of 1942 it was recorded that Italy had provided Germany with 300,000 workers (8 percent were women) and that the number would soon reach 350,000.[4] The latter figure probably represents the number of Italians employed in Germany early this year. Recently, in connection with rumors concerning the withdrawal of Italian workers from Germany, Swedish sources spoke of 750,000 Italians working in Germany.[5] This is undoubtedly a tremendous exaggeration. No serious source has ever mentioned a similar figure nor does it tally with the totals on foreign labor in Germany, given by official and well-informed sources.

According to a German broadcast, Italian workers were also sent to occupied Russia. As to the occupational distribution of the Italian workers in Germany, it was reported in May-June 1942, that 100,000 of them were engaged in the metal industry and 25,000 in mining.

It was a difficult task for the Italian authorities to reconcile the German demand for manpower with Italy's own need, especially in respect to skilled metal workers. As early as

1. International Labor Review, Vol XLIII No.5, October 1941 p. 439.

2. The New York Times, 25 April 1942 and 9 June 1942 based on a German broadcast recorded by the United Press.

3. Reichsarbeitsblatt, 5 December 1941 No.34, part V, p. 611 and 5 January 1942, No.1 part V p. 9.

4. Stefani Agency, 5 June 1942 - The New York Times, 6 April and 9 June 1942.

5. The New York Times, 26 May 1943 (Stockholm dispatch).
Christian Science Monitor, 14 May 1943 - in an article entitled: "Is Italy Strongly Defended by the Axis?" By Edgar R. Rosen, estimates range from 350,000 to 800,000.

May 1941 reports received from the corporative inspection authorities indicated that the number of workers released for work in Germany was less than the number demanded.[1] On the other hand, since August 1942, there have been indications of a scarcity of skilled labor in the Italian metal industry. It was reported that out of 100,000 metal workers, in the province of Turin, 27,000 were women, an unusual feature in Italy.[2] It is obvious that the threat of Allied invasion necessitated even greater manpower not only for the Italian army, but also for the building of fortifications. Furthermore, Germany's failure to supply Italy with sufficient coal resulted in Italy's efforts to increase her own output of coal and lignite by releasing miners from the army and by assigning inexperienced but physically robust soldiers to work in the mines, although there were 25,000 miners working in Western Germany.[3] Under these circumstances, a partial withdrawal of Italian workers from Germany is conceivable. Therefore the recent press reports that Mussolini has ordered workers home cannot be completely rejected. To date there has been no reliable corroboration of this fact. Information concerning the withdrawal of Italian workers came from Stockholm, in connection with rumors of the deterioration in Axis economic relations. The Stockholm correspondent of The New York Times reported that two-thirds of all Italian workers laboring in Germany had been ordered home. The report added that they were urgently needed for "work on the fortifications being built to stave off an Allied invasion" and estimated that since 15 April, some 500,000 Italians had been brought back to Italy. On the other hand, in April, the German radio announced the impending transfer of new contingents of skilled Italian workers to the Reich.[4] According to a Stockholm dispatch to The New York Times the Kieler Zeitung of 25 May 1943 announced that the first contingent of Italian laborers hitherto employed there had left the city under a general plan to send back all Italian workers in German war industries to Italy "so that they can make their contribution on their own home front". The Stockholm dispatch added that it was a question of 750,000 men whom Germany must replace from the populations of occupied countries and with prisoners of war. Furthermore, it stated that most of the Italians had already left Germany to return home. It is impossible to learn the truth from this contradictory information. According to CBS short wave, there have been rumors to the effect that Italian workers were to return home, but no word that any actually had returned to Italy.

According to information forwarded by Frances Keene of the American Labor Conference and Professor Salvadore of Columbia University in April-May Italian workers in Germany and their relatives in Italy received promises that the workers would be permitted to return home. The rioting that began in Turin at the end of June 1943 was provoked in part by the fact that these promises were not kept.

1. International Labor Review, Vol. XLIV, No.4 October 1941 p. 439.

2. Gazzetta del Popola (Turin) August 1942.

3. Edgar R. Rosen, Christian Science Monitor, 14 May 1943.

4. idem.

Information received from a reliable source in Washington states that at the end of June and early in July, during the course of two weeks 5,000 Italian workers, en route from Germany, passed through Bern. This number by far exceeds the normal turnover. Direct confirmation of a homeward movement of Italian workers in Germany appears in the Voelkischer Beobachter (Vienna edition) of 31 May 1943. Schneeberger of the German Labor Front is quoted by that newspaper as follows:

"Important tasks now call the Italians home. But it is certain that this is not farewell for ever,..."

According to accounts reaching London as reported by Frederick Kuh in PM of 27 July 1943, the Italian government has ordered all Italian workers in Germany and Axis-occupied countries to return home by 31 August 1943. How many of the 280,000 Italian workers in Germany have left for Italy is not known, but according to all indications the homeward movement has begun. Kuh states further that the recall order had been issued by Mussolini some time before his fall and that according to the British Ministry of Economic Warfare the Italian government had long been clamoring for the return of Italian workers from the Reich owing to the acute shortage of skilled labor in Italy.

Since Mussolini's downfall there have been reports that Italian workers in Germany are to be held as hostages. Any such decision on the part of the Reich government may prove to be a boomerang in view of the present mood of Italian labor. In Berlin on 26 July 1943, one day after the removal of Mussolini "ten thousand Italian workers refused to go to work and loudly asked to be sent home" (according to the Berlin correspondent of the Swedish paper Aftonbladet quoted by the London radio[1]).

At the present writing however there is nothing to indicate that the majority of the Italian workers employed in Germany are en route to their homes.

D. Italian Settlers in France and Dalmatia

In the second half of February of this year, the Bureau of the Interallied Committee for After War Requirements, London, mentions 90,000 settlers of Italian nationality in France.[2] There has been no further information available on this matter.

According to a Yugoslav source the Italians had intended to settle 700,000 Italians in Dalmatia. To date their plan has not materialized.

E. Italian Officials in Italian Annexed and Occupied Territories

There is no doubt that besides the army of occupation, there are in Italian-annexed and Italian-occupied territories many civilian Italians directly or indirectly connected with the military operations, such as: police and other government officials, employees and workers on the militarized railroads, overseers and skilled and unskilled workers, in particular engaged in building fortifications. There are no figures available as to the number of these persons.

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1. The New York Times, 30 July 1943.

2. Information Bulletin No. 2 of the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Security London, 15 March 1943.

F. Italian Prisoners of War in Allied hands

Sir James Crigg, British Minister of War, on 18 May 1943 placed the number of Italians taken by the British in Africa by 15 April 1943 at 284,776. Since that time, an additional 63,000 Italians have been taken by the Allies in North Africa. The most recent totals bring the figure up to more than 350,000. Many of these prisoners who have been removed abroad, are being used to augment the manpower of the United Nations. Some 30,000 are in Great Britain. Many were shipped to Canada. Large numbers of Italian prisoners captured in Tunisia are being transported to the United States for employment on farms and at other types of work not directly connected with military operations. An unknown number of Italians are prisoners in Russia.

G. Italian Army

The Italian army abroad does not in the proper sense fit into the definition of a migratory movement. However it temporarily affects Italy both in a demographic and in an economic sense.

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II. MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION INTO ITALY

A. Italians returning from Abroad and the Colonies

1. From America. The number of Italians returning from the United States in recent years has been quite small. Between 1935 and 1939, the number of emigrants who left annually for Italy was between 1726 and 2064. In 1939-1940, on the eve of Italy's entry into the war, it was only 1534. In 1940, when Italy entered the war, it dropped to 104 persons.

2. From Lybia. In the course of the first Lybian campaign, Italian settlers who had been established in Lybia in the fall of 1938[1] fled to Italy. An announcement of the Italian government at the time when it paid pensions to all settlers who had been forced to leave Lybia (and Ethiopia) because of the war revealed that the number of these refugees was great.[2]

3. From East Africa. At the end of the Ethiopian campaign, there were in Abyssinia, Eritrea, and Somaliland some 11,000 Italian women and children, remnants of families of the Italian settlers who were sent to Italian East Africa mainly in 1936-1937. According to a special agreement, their repatriation took place in 1942 - 1943.[3]

4. From Tunisia. The Allied conquest of Tunisia provoked a flight of the Italian population to Italy. The number of Italian nationals in Tunisia was according to the census of 1936, 94,000 as compared to 108,000 Frenchmen. The latter figure included numerous naturalized Italians (in 1921 - 1931, 18,000 Italians had been naturalized). An Associated Press dispatch from Tunis on 9 May reported that by 30 April "a large part of the Italian population had returned to Italy, most of them by plane."[4] This statement must be an exaggeration, because of the tremendous transportation facilities which such an evacuation would have required, and secondly the fact that there is no evidence of a substantial decline in the Italian population in Tunis nor of the arrival of these masses in Italy. According to an Associated Press dispatch of 14 May from Algiers, the "French authorities announced tonight that no general measures would be taken against the 100,000 Italian nationals in Tunisia."[5]

According to information received through Professor Salvadore, there was no mass flight of Italians from Tunisia. Almost all who fled were active fascists. Even the overwhelming majority of the middle class being mainly Jewish, did not move.

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1. R. dalla Volta in Revue Economique Internationale April 1939, p. 32 ss.
2. The New York Times, 20 January 1942.
3. The New York Times 3 March 1942 and 7 January 1943. Neue Zuercher Zeitung 25 June and 7 July 1942. Giornale d'Italia 30 June 1942.
4. The New York Times, 12 May 1943.
5. The New York Times, 15 May 1943.

5. From Pantelleria. A 13 June report of the Combined United States Press stated that "the Germans as late as last night were operating planes to the mainland taking off those who wished to go. But most of the civilians refused, having lived there all their lives."

6. From Soviet Russia. The Neues Wiener Tageblatt of 15 March 1943 reported a group of Italians in Budapest en route to Italy from South Soviet Russia where they had been caught by the German occupation.

B. Jewish Refugees

At the time of Italy's entry into the war, in June 1940, there were in the country some 3,000 Jewish refugees from Greater Germany.[1] Since then, a number of Jewish refugees from Yugoslavia have poured in. (See report on Yugoslavia). Jewish refugees from Yugoslavia are concentrated in Northern Italy, in the small towns of the Venetian Alps.

C. Yugoslav Prisoners of War in Italy

The Interallied Committee for After War Requirements places the figure at 6,150.

D. Deportations from Italian-occupied Yugoslavia into Italy

Some 30,000 Slovenes and 50,000 Croats and Dalmatians are said to have been deported from Italian controlled Yugoslav territory to Southern Italy (see Report on Yugoslavia).

E. Movement of Germans from the Reich into Italy

While there have been indications of large numbers of Germans in Italy since the beginning of 1942 and recent information shows that their number has greatly increased, no actual figures are as yet available.

1. Report of American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for 1940 and the first five months of 1941.

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III. MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION WITHIN ITALY

A. Transfer of Workers for Military and Defense Purposes

The regulations issued by the Ministry of Corporations in February 1943 provided that labor be supplied, firstly from among the unemployed in the province concerned and secondly:[1]

"If despite mobilization, the workers in a certain province are insufficient to supply the demand entirely, the Labor Exchange requests the Ministry to transfer workers from other provinces, giving notice in advance to the Prefect and to the Worker's Confederation concerned. The Ministry, after consulting the appropriate Worker's Confederation, takes steps as regards the province and number and also the qualifications of the workers to be transferred and the mode of transfer, giving instructions to the Prefects concerned, while the Worker's Confederation gives the necessary instructions to the Labor Exchanges. The Ministry will issue the necessary authorization for the mobilization of these workers."

The importance attached to these transfers by the Italian authorities may be gathered from the reiteration in the Popolo d'Italia of 7 April 1943 of the mobilization of labor decree which included all persons aged 14 and upwards. The Popolo d'Italia stated further that 14 year old minors, when mobilized and transferred with the establishment where they are employed, must proceed under the penalty of being reported for disobedience.

B. Evacuation and Flight from Bombed Areas

1. The movement from cities which had suffered serious damage has been both a spontaneous flight of population and an organized evacuation of women, children and other civilians who are not indispensable. The authorities asked that the unnecessary population of its own free will leave all bombed cities as well as those which probably would be raided. Since December 1942 evacuations have been organized in Genoa, Turin, and Milan, and the newspapers of Livorno Rome and other cities have been urging the people to leave.[2] Simultaneously, the authorities tried to prevent arbitrary flight of persons whose absence would disrupt the normal activity of the city. The Corriere Mercantilo of 31 December 1942 published the following communique:

"The example set by certain public or private offices of moving out of Genoa hampers the normal activity of the city, and aggravates the difficulty of finding accommodation for bombed-out persons and evacuees. Every removal of public or private offices from Genoa is therefore specifically forbidden. The Podesta of the Province have been warned to prevent occupation of dwellings and villas by public or private offices."

The Corriere commented as follows:

"This measure by the Prefect was absolutely essential not only on the ground of cogent reasons of public utility

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1. Popolo d'Italia, 2 May 1943.
2. Neue Zuercher Zeitung, 2 December 1942.

but also because of what we might almost call 'morale'. The life of the city must continue as before, and be more laborious and fruitful than before, and in order that this life may be able to regain its normal rhythm to the full it is absolutely essential that all public and private offices should remain at their posts."

Subsequently, such local regulations were replaced by general decrees for all Italy. As bombings increased, the authorities inaugurated an organized evacuation. Regulations concerning this problem were systematized in a Decree Law published in the Official Gazette of 24 March 1943. The Decree concerning the "evacuation of that part of the civilian population which is not liable to service or labor provided that the Ministry of the Interior will delimit the territory attacked by enemy aircraft and will indicate to Prefects the zones presumed to be menaced by attacks. The householder who has to leave his residence or send his family away may cancel his lease. In order to facilitate the settling of the evacuated population, the owners of dwelling houses throughout Italy no matter where they are located, must report to the mayors within 20 days all available dwellings furnished or unfurnished, indicating the location, size and rent."

On the other hand, a decree was issued under which industrial workers leaving their jobs because of air raids would be treated as deserters and subjected to court-martial. The Algiers radio heard by the United Press in London, said that "special police had been established to arrest workers 'fleeing' from raid-threatened cities."[1]

2. Estimate of Number of Refugees.

a. Milan:- half of its population of 1,270,000[2] according to a Swiss woman living in Italy in a letter published in the St. Galler Tageblatt of 12 March 1943. Of course this estimate cannot be taken at face value, but it does indicate that there must have been a tremendous exodus.

b. Turin:- with a population of 712,000[2] - "Several hundred thousand persons were evacuated and about two-thirds of the remainder used to move out to the suburbs every evening, according to a London dispatch of 16 May 1943 to The New York Times.

c. Sardinia:- in Sardinia bombardment produced mainly a flight from the coast to the interior. A Transocean dispatch of 18 June 1943 quoting the Tribuna stated that the capital Cagliari now has a population of no more than 6,000 - 7,000 as compared to its former population of 100,000.

d. Southern Italy:- The New York Times of 19 May quoting the Algiers radio stated that "300,000 refugees from Southern Italy had arrived in Rome during the past two weeks." On 19 June, The New York Times reported from North Africa:

"Evacuation of the southern provinces has been in orderly progress for the past three weeks.... Signor Scorza ordered his provincial secretaries "in several affected areas" to

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1. By telephone to The New York Times from Berne, 5 June 1943

2. Dr. I. B. Taeuber.

conclude the evacuation operations by 21 June." The following were zones under martial law: "Foggia - Bari-Brindisi - Lecce - Taranto - Cosenza - Catanzaro - and those parts of Reggio Calabria and Matera which heretofore were only considered zones under a state of war." These regions constitute an area with a population of 5,000,000 inhabitants.

In the middle of June, according to reports from Berne, the population of Rome, estimated at 1,503,000 before the influx of refugees[1] had reached 2,500,000 to 3,000,000. This reported influx of 1,500,000 refugees from Southern Italy to Rome is wide of the mark. Undoubtedly, a mass exodus of evacuees from Calabria and from other coastal regions took place and many of them went to Rome. But the number of those who arrived in Rome could never have reached such great proportions. In the past, experience has shown that in all evacuations the overwhelming majority of refugees use the railways, the only means in Italy of evacuating great masses. Between Naples and Rome there are two railways, one the Direktissimo, the model electric railway. But in Calabria and further to the North as far as Naples, there is only one railway with a very modest speed and carrying capacity. In peacetime, all of Italy's railways together carried 7,500,000 passengers monthly. If we were to assume that the railway from Calabria to Rome could accommodate 10 evacuation trains daily (without interruption for military traffic) and each train carried about 1000 passengers, the number of people transferred since the middle of May could hardly surpass 500,000. This is the opinion of Mr. Carlo Almagia, an engineer, well acquainted with the Italian railway problem. As early as 12 May when refugees began streaming from the south, there were reports that the railways from Calabria northwards to Naples had been placed under military jurisdiction and that civilian train traffic throughout that southern part of the country had been greatly curtailed. Thus thousands of refugees were left stranded along the line. Nor is there any indication from Rome itself of the kind of overcrowding which an influx of such proportions would necessarily cause.

The flight from bombed areas took a different form in northern and southern Italy. Everywhere, the population sought to escape from the heavily strafed areas, from Turin, Milan, the coast-line of Northern Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia. Nevertheless, the streams of refugees whether from the North or from the South were influenced by the pre-war course of Italian internal migration. Since 1931, birthplace statistics have shown two great areas of immigration within Italy.[2] (a) In the North, a movement to the nearby industrial cities of Milan, Turin, and Genoa (b) from the South the much longer trek to Rome and its vicinity. Migration balance, calculated for the period of 1931 - 1936 as well as for the period of 1936 - 1942 confirms this fact and shows that apart from people coming from the adjacent towns and countryside, streams of population which originate at great distances nourish the cities. These streams flow from north-eastern and central Italy to northwestern Italy and from southern Italy to Rome. People who fled from the bombarded

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1. Dr. I. B. Taeuber.

2. Statistics for the period up to 1936 according to the official data of the VII Censimento General della Popolazione April 21, 1931 and VIII (the same) of April 21, 1936. For the period after 1936, statistics according to Dr. I. B. Taeuber

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cities of northern Italy moved against this stream attempting to remain more or less in the vicinity of their homes. On 14 November 1942 Popolo d'Italia reported that there were no more vacant apartments within a radius of sixty miles of Milan. In Turin, the bulk of refugees remained in the surrounding districts, according to private information received by Miss Ovazza, secretary of the Italian section of the Council of European Jews. The opposite occurred in the South where refugees travelled long distances in an effort to reach Rome, thus imitating the natural course of pre-war migration. There is nothing mysterious in this. In the North, the refugees turned towards their native homes where they were more likely to have connections; from the South, they tried to reach Rome where their relatives had gone before them. The hope that Rome would not be bombed has undoubtedly played a major part in attracting refugees.

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OIR list 7/48
By HT
Date 10/2/50